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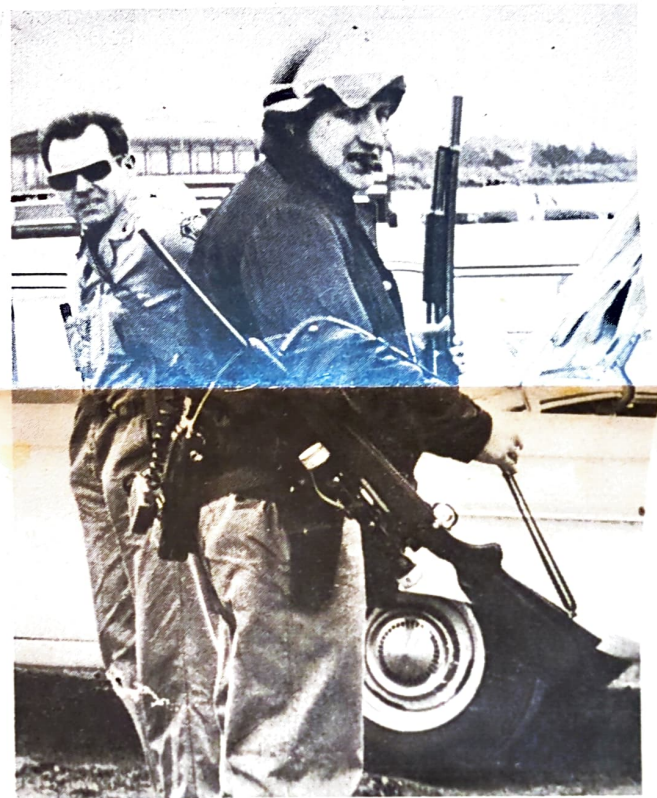


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REPRESSION

THE INSTITUTIONS OF CONTROL IN AMERICAN SOCIETY ARE BEING CHALLENGED AND ATTACKED. In the ghettos and barrios, third world people are organizing to resist and attack the police system which brutalizes them. At the same time, they are creating institutions which serve their real needs. In the streets of hundreds of cities across the country, people have been forced to fight the police, while protesting the draft, the war, LBJ, Humphrey, and Wallace. On the campuses, one after another institution of 'higher learning' is being turned into a battleground--Students are saying that they want an education relevant to their needs and the needs of their communities. The administrations and governors are saying, No. In the public bureaucracies, young teachers and social workers are disrupting and paralyzing their institutions by merely demanding to be allowed to serve the real needs of their clients. In the factories, young workers are beginning to revitalize a long stagnant trade union movement which has only served to control their aspirations and manipulate their power. American middle class culture is being eaten alive from within as the young challenge the repression built into American 'values' about sex, drugs, money, and work. American society is coming apart at the seams; and where it is not collapsing by itself it is being ripped apart by people who can no longer stand it. Those in positions of power and status in the present system have nothing left to offer, no way to turn off the anger, frustration, and bitterness they have created; and, no way to meet the crisis without destroying their own power. Their last resort is force--the police, the national guard, and eventually the army. President Nixon, for example, has just instructed Vice-President Agnew to consult with the state governors about what action might be taken at the state and federal levels to "cope with the growing lawlessness and violence on our campuses." He failed to instruct anyone, however, to solve the real grievances and problems of students and TW people on the campuses.



University Of California, Berkeley

ONE OUT OF EVERY 12 BILLS INTRODUCED IN THE CURRENT LEGISLATURE IS AIMED AT SUPPRESSING STUDENT ACTIVISM ON THE CAMPUSES. This legislation has several primary goals.

- (1) To isolate the campus from the surrounding community, symbolized by Assemblyman Collier's suggestion to build a wall around each campus with Check Point Charlies.
- (2) To thwart existing and future attempts at student initiated courses and student participation in curriculum development; e.g., Senate Concurrent Resolution #18, calling for the abolishment of the Center for Participant Education.

(3) To increase the harshness of campus rules and regulations, thereby restricting the 'proper' channels for change, struggle, and dissent.

(4) To increase the penalties for violating campus rules and for violating state laws while on the campus--for instance, the bill which provides for a 5 years to life sentence for anyone 'assaulting' a police officer during a campus disturbance. (Remember, Huey only got from 2-15 years for allegedly shooting one, and 'assault' is defined as occurring when a police officer attacks you.)

THE OCCUPATION OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS HAS CREATED A 'STATE OF WAR' BETWEEN STUDENTS AND POLICE FORCES. The State of Extreme Emergency which permitted this police occupation has made evident the intent of the proposed legislation: for police are the 'tool', the 'long arm' of the law. Briefly, the message is that students who struggle for self-determination will be crushed.

The RSU is concerned with creating an expansive political structure which can involve large numbers of students in ongoing political activity. The scope of RSU projects--ranging from price control in university bookstore and cafeteria to rent control in the Berkeley community--require that its membership be open to non-student youth, and community people as well as to radical students.

The RSU's long-term project orientation is a direct response to the "crisis politics" which has dominated the Berkeley movement since FSM. "Crisis politics" has consistently failed to involve students in the long range political education which produces committed revolutionaries; and, in fact, has alienated and discouraged many potentially radical students.

While most of RSU members claim no other political affiliation, the members of some campus political groups have joined and made a substantial contribution to RSU's development to date. RSU members, on the other hand, are playing a significant role in the Strike Support Committee and in building the strike among white students in general.

At present, several major projects are producing results. The Research Action Project has just published a 55 page pamphlet entitled "The Uses of U.C. Berkeley--Research," the first in a series of studies aimed at exposing the ways in which the university is used and uses itself to maintain and further the aims of the corporate capitalists. The Labor project has had success in mobilizing student support for the workers on strike at the Standard Oil Plant in Richmond; and, reciprocally, oil workers and representatives from other unions are moving in support of the TWLF strike on campus. The Education project is developing countercourses with some success in Political Science 5. The Departmental Organizing committee has made inroads into several departments, notably in the humanities and social sciences with several viable new departmental groups to show for its efforts.

Although RSU was formed in January, we have accomplished a lot. But we need help, especially from those who want to transfer their political beliefs into work which will help build a radical student movement on this campus. Information is available at our table in the Plaza, or write Radical Student Union, c/o C.P.E., Eshelman Hall, University of California, Berkeley.

B. Brecht

The rulers say that law and crime

Are made of different kinds of stuff.

But their law, and their crime

Are like wind and storm.

Their law destroys

Whatever survives their crime.

THE REGENTS RESOLUTION IS AIMED AT 'ELIMINATING' STUDENTS WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED OR WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR A THIRD WORLD COLLEGE. By a vote of 18-3, the Regents delegated to the Chancellor the power to immediately suspend any student when there is "reasonable cause to believe" he has violated a campus regulation (or state law,) during a State of Emergency. It is also aimed at intimidating all students since it is the police who interpret what is a violation. Clearly, the 'State of Emergency' which Heyns originally dismissed as a 'mere technicality' is becoming more and more important. It now constitutes the primary justification for the legislation of political repression. This 'mere technicality' is available to Chancellors on all nine university campuses when they want arbitrary power to deal with student unrest. President Hitch, rather than safeguarding students' rights, attempted to outdo Reagan by proposing that any Chancellor may place into immediate effect, "ANY EMERGENCY REGULATION, PROCEDURE, OR OTHER MEASURE DEEMED NECESSARY OR APPROPRIATE TO MEET THE EMERGENCY..." President Hitch alone knows if his policy would allow for university rules similar to Senate Bill #292, proposed by Senator Whitmore, which would allow the university to suspend any student who is a member of any organization which advocates any disruption of normal university functions.

Why The Repression

Why are the Regents, the Governor, the Legislature, and this campus administration willing to

- 1) put 1/12 of all legislative effort into exploring ways to crush campus dissent?
- 2) spend tens of thousands of dollars (better spent on a Third World College) on thousands of police and national guardsmen in and around campus?
- 3) significantly disrupt and gas a major section of the Berkeley community?

The Larger Threat

Clearly, this energy is not merely a response to petty vandalism or to a few isolated incidents of violence against students, as most faculty and administration would have us believe. America is a violent society. Those who have power use violence everyday in the ghettos, in the prisons, on the streets to maintain their rule. These attacks on the student movement do not arise from moral outrage at striker violence. Rather, they stem from the fact that this limited and sporadic violence reflects an unlimited challenge to the arbitrary power of the faculty, administration, and state government. It is clear that when the police are willing to close down and gas the Telegraph Avenue area of Berkeley just to keep open Sather Gate, issues other than petty vandalism and minor disruption are involved. The intensity of the reaction to the demand for an autonomous TW College is in part because the granting of the College would not simply be an 'educational reform'. The College would be utilized by oppressed TW people to aid their struggle for liberation. It would be a pocket of independent TW power inside the body of the multi-versity. It would be an 'educational reform' with revolutionary content.

Perhaps if the Berkeley movement were isolated and alone, the repression would not be as great. But the struggle on the Berkeley campus is part of a nationwide fight on university campuses. Furthermore, it is only part of the more widespread resistance to the structure of power in America. Third World people, youth, and sections of the working class are all beginning to fight back. This resistance challenges the vested interests of the military, big business, the Democratic and Republican parties, and America's other major political institutions. In the long run, campus unrest also undercuts the ability of the American multiversity system to smoothly carry out its training, research, and indoctrination functions. Finally, on this campus, the struggle challenges the hollow professionalism and the status fetishism of the faculty and administration.

Who Will Feel The Repression

Nationwide, everyone will feel the repression just as every student will suffer on this campus. Although Third World students began this struggle for just demands, the repression is aimed at and will affect us all. It must affect us all because even students unsympathetic to the strike feel that their education is both boring and irrelevant. All students feel the need to participate in the formulation and control of their own education. The legislative and police repression, therefore, serves (and must serve if it is to be effective) not only to 'eliminate' the militants, but also to intimidate all students in the University system. This strategy grows out of Reagan's analysis that militant strike supporters act like 'guerrillas' within the university. He understands the supportive environment in which the strike is growing but he fails to grasp the inadequacy of brute force in dealing with human needs.

Neutrality

What happens to neutrality under these conditions? Even a non-striker walking through Sproul Plaza on his way to class can be arrested, beaten, and charged with assault, as many saw last week. Black and Asian students who were non-strikers have been forced to show their credentials before being allowed into dormitory facilities where they live. Likewise, those students who have marched in a picket line, talked about the strike in a classroom, or done anything to support the strike may be subject to suspension, dismissal, or expulsion under the new Regents resolution. You may feel neutral about the strike but Reagan views you as an enemy.

You may lament this 'polarization,' but it is essential to understand it. Polarization does not result primarily from the actions of a few militant strikers, but from the intransigent and conservative attitudes of administrators and politicians. These attitudes prevent those with power from understanding or wanting to resolve the serious social dilemmas which have erupted into this strike. The dissolution of their authority and legitimacy in the face of the profoundly legitimate demands of this strike has required them to shore up their power with brute force. It is this, unthinking, selfish, desperate turn to force which ultimately involves the whole Berkeley community--strikers and non-strikers, students and non-students alike. It is this response which leads them to destroy Berkeley in order to save it.

When we consider the attacks on the educational system constituted by this legislation, the lack of neutral ground becomes even more evident. State Assemblyman John Collier, speaking in front of the Assembly's Education Subcommittee, proposed that colleges and universities should be walled off like defense plants. "Wouldn't we be money ahead in the long run to put walls around our campuses and have Check Point Charlies and make people show their credentials." Other proposals, such as the Senate Concurrent Committee's Bill #18, calling for the abolition of CPE and for the Regents' proposal to take the power of dispensing tenure away from the Chancellors make it clear that all students and faculty must defend the university from the politicians. This defense must take shape quickly and remain uncompromising.

What We Can Do - What We Can't Do

Where neutrality is increasingly impossible and there exists a movement towards severe repression there are only two choices: either to give up or to decide to expand the fight. Third world students have chosen the latter course. After months of fruitless work with the administration, after repeated acts of arrogance on the part of the administration and faculty with whom they were supposedly negotiating as equals, after continual misrepresentation of their positions and their leaders by these same administrators to the press, Third World students have gone out on strike. Their decision is a matter of survival. They know that their education is

worthless unless it prepares them to deal with the real problems of the ghettos and barrios. They also know that rather than helping, their education in this university has been preparing them for leaving rather than rejoining their people after graduation.

In sticking to their demand that the Third World implementing committee really govern (and not merely advise) the Third World College, the Third World students are proving their 'scholarship,' 'education,' and the prevailing concept of 'an educated man.' The demand is totally consistent with the rhetorical American concern for 'pluralism.' But, it has revealed rather than a concern for pluralism, the blatant realities of institutional repression and racial arrogance. Students must respond to these realities and recognize that the institutional structure of the university must be changed, and that it will only be changed by expanding the strike.

ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS EXPANDING THE STRIKE MEANS COMPLETELY CLOSING THE UNIVERSITY. This requires,

---that the strike must be deepened to include all possible support on the campus

---that the strike be extended to mobilize all possible support on other campuses and in the community, especially among Third World people, youth, and workers.

Students should be shown how, despite personal intentions, if they break the strike lines and go to class they are working with Reagan and Heyns, and helping eventually to destroy any potential for self-determination on this campus. The faculty must be convinced that no peace is possible until all the police are permanently removed from the campus and the Third World demands are met. The faculty especially must understand that there will be no return to 'normalcy' even if they silently acquiesce to the strongest show of force.

How We Can Win

The strike at Berkeley and SF State cannot be won on one or two campuses alone. The demands of the TW for self-determination, for student control of their own education, and especially for a university which serves the needs of the people rather than the profits of big business, directly challenges the power relations in this state. A statewide coalition of those peoples who are oppressed by the state government, the 'educational institutions,' and the corporations, must be built to oppose their common enemies and to fight repression. This has already begun in a limited way in the Bay Area with the 'mutual aid pact' in which Richmond oil workers recognized student demands to be legitimate and students supported the demands and struggles of the oil workers. It is also reflected in the participation of the TW community in the SF State strike. By developing a vigorous fight and enlisting various elements of the community, we can produce a movement powerful enough to win the strike.

The considerable success that the SF State and Berkeley strikes have already shown has produced significant splits within the power structure. It is true that these splits revolve around the best way to neutralize and dismember the student movement. Nonetheless, it is possible to use these splits to our advantage.

Reagan's position on the strike is well known. On the other hand, Unruh and Alioto have acknowledged the legitimacy of some of the strike demands. "We're going to have to work out a system for teachers and students to have some participation in curriculum and personnel matters," Mayor Alioto said in the *Chronicle*. Of course Alioto makes quite clear his reasons for such verbal concessions. "The real problem is that the vast majority (of the students) does have real grievances. The trick is not to radicalize the majority." It's the old carrot and the stick trick. Nevertheless, there is a real possibility of winning important concessions from a somewhat threatened power structure. The rulers' split is, however, a two-edged sword. There is a real danger of the strike movement being coopted and agreeing to minor or insignificant gains. The split among the rulers is an attempt to create a split in our own ranks. In speaking of the radicals Alioto said, "That group is a very small minority. They can be isolated." After the radicals become politically isolated, the students will be offered concessions which are no concessions at all.

In order to win, therefore, it is crucial that we maintain a militant and independent movement. It is only through such a movement that we can build the coalition of forces which is necessary for victory. It is only by our determination and tenacity that we create friction and splits among our rulers, and only in the same manner can we show that violent repression will not stop us. When we are offered concessions, we must be especially careful not to relax vigilance and unity, or we will be defeated at the moment of victory.

What It Means To Join The Strike And Not To Join It

There are many ways to support the strike--joining the strike line, organizing with a long-term perspective in your departments, raising money for bail, speaking to community groups: in short, there are a variety of ways. There are also a few ways to not support the strike: but they all amount to resignation in the face of legislative and police repression. Those of you who do this constitute not only a hindrance, but an obstruction to the people who wish to restructure the educational process, and to redirect it to constructive ends.

Remember, our primary objectives:

---Third World control of a Third World College

---Police off campus

---Amnesty for all strikers

Our immediate aim:

---Build a statewide coalition between:

---students and TW people

---campus and community

---student and labor militants

Completely close the campus.

Power to the people.

Fight repressive legislation from Sacramento.



TO DATE THERE HAVE BEEN OVER SIXTY BILLS INTRODUCED IN THE LEGISLATURE. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME TYPICAL EXAMPLES:

4--(Assemblyman Britschgi) Provides that court in pending prosecution for refusal to leave a state college or state university campus or facility require that defendant, before he can be released on bail or on his own recognizance, as a condition to such release, refrain from entering any campus or facility of a state college or state university until a final judgment in the case.

20--(Assemblyman Wilson) Authorizes dismissal of state college employee for participating in or inciting any strike or boycott at any state college campus or facility or committing any other act likely to interfere with the peaceful conduct of the educational program or operations of any state college campus or facility.

188--(Assemblyman Wakefield) Requires student who registers for admission to any of the California state colleges or the University of Calif., to sign card stating that he agrees to abide by the rules and regulations set forth by the regents or the trustees and understands that failure to do so constitutes grounds for expulsion. (This loyalty oath bill has also been introduced into the Senate by Senator Harmer, Bill #132.)

286--(Assemblyman Wakefield) Makes it a misdemeanor for any dismissed student or released or discharged professor to knowingly enter the state college or state university campus or facility from which he was dismissed, released, or discharged, within one year therefrom, without written consent from the chief administrative officer of such campus or facility or certain designees of such chief administrative officer. (This bill was introduced into the Senate by Senator Whitmore, Bill #5.)

344--(Assemblyman Mulford) Declares legislative intent relating to disruptive activities by students at institutions of higher education. Provides that any student of U.C., the California State Colleges, or the public junior colleges who, following a prompt hearing thereon, is found to have committed any acts of force or violence on a university, state college, or public J.C. shall be suspended for one year. Prohibits suspended student from being admitted or readmitted to any such institutions during period of suspension. Requires expulsion of student found at a hearing to have committed such acts a second time. Prohibits expelled student from being admitted or readmitted to any of such institutions at any time. Provides that no scholarship, fellowship, grant, or loan under specified programs shall be awarded, made, or guaranteed or renewed to any person who has been suspended or expelled from institutions of higher learning for committing acts of force or violence, on campuses of such institutions, likely to interfere with the peaceful conduct of the educational activities of such institutions. (A related bill, #28, was introduced by Senator Harmer into the Senate prohibiting reenrollment for three years.)

368--(Senator Stacey) Increases minimum and maximum penalties for first offences to five years to life for assault with a deadly weapon upon a policeman or fireman engaged in performance of his duties, and increases minimum for offender previously convicted of a felony to seven years to life....

56--(Senator Harmer) Permits president of Calif. State College to declare a 'state of emergency' on the campus if a disruption of normal operations occurs or is threatened. Permits president to restrict access to campus when a 'state of emergency' exists. Makes violation of such restriction a misdemeanor.

202--(Senator Whitmore) Provides that active, knowing membership of student at public schools, colleges, or universities, in any organization which is found to have led or participated in any on-campus violence to either persons or property or to have emphasized racial or ethnic differences by unlawful acts, with the specific intent to further such unlawful purposes is grounds for suspension or dismissal. Applicable to University of California only if regents adopt resolution stating it is applicable.

18--(Senate Concurrent Report - Schmitz, Bradley, etc.) Relative to urging the regents of the University of California to terminate its delegation of authority to the Center for Participant Education and to assume responsibility for any new courses offered by the University of California, Berkeley.